

Serious Youth Violence Evidence Base

Serious Youth Violence Evidence Base



This evidence base presents the known risk factors for involvement in serious youth violence, the prevalence of those risk factors in Haringey, and their impacts on Haringey's young people.

Serious Youth Violence Profile

Our data and intelligence shows that, in Haringey:

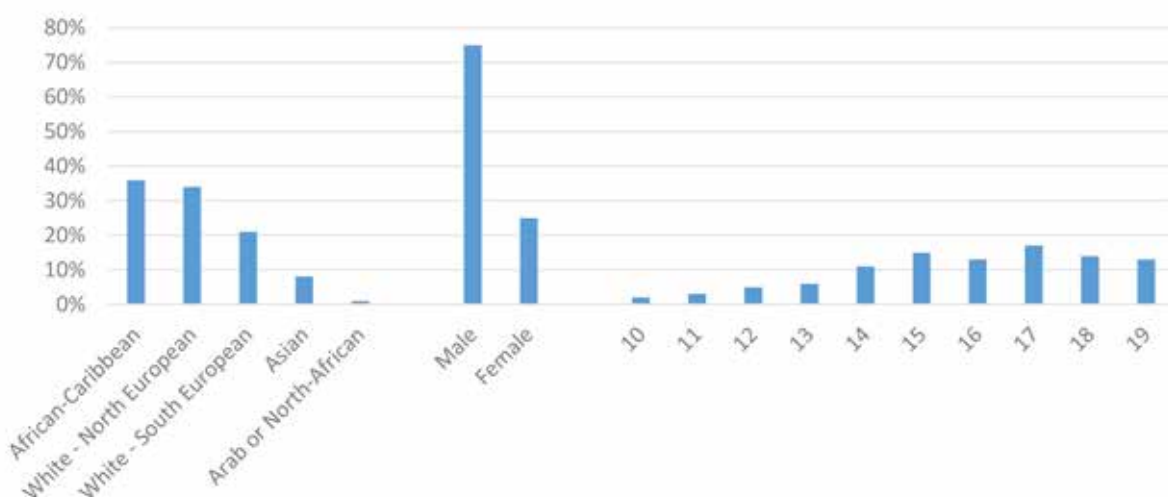
→ A disproportionately high number of victims are Black African and Black Caribbean, at 36% of all victims compared to 25% of the 10-19 year-old population. White North European young people constitute 34% of victims, White Southern European young people 21%, and Asian young

people 8%. The largest proportion of victims of knife crime are Black.

- Three quarters of victims are male and a quarter female. Young people have told us that under-reporting may be more common in instances where young women are victims.
- Three quarters of victims are aged between 15 and 19, with the largest proportion of victims being aged 17.

From this data we can see that young Black men aged 15-17 are more likely than their peers to be victims of SYV. However, this is not an issue that affects this group exclusively. In particular, we have reason to believe that victimisation of girls is an emerging issue.

Victims of Serious Youth Violence



It is possible to draw similar conclusions in terms of perpetrators:

- Across London almost 62% of violent offenders were from BAME backgrounds¹. In Haringey, young Black people are significantly disproportionately overrepresented in the youth justice cohort, compared to the borough-wide demographic, with the greatest number coming from Northumberland Park, Tottenham Hale and White Hart Lane wards.
- Perpetrators of knife crime across London are predominantly described as from a BAME background. This pattern is replicated in Haringey, with Young Black men overrepresented relative to the population as a whole.
- Across London almost 90% of violent offenders are male and 85% of the local youth justice cohort are male.
- There is a disproportionately high number of looked after children and young people with SEND in the local youth justice cohort.

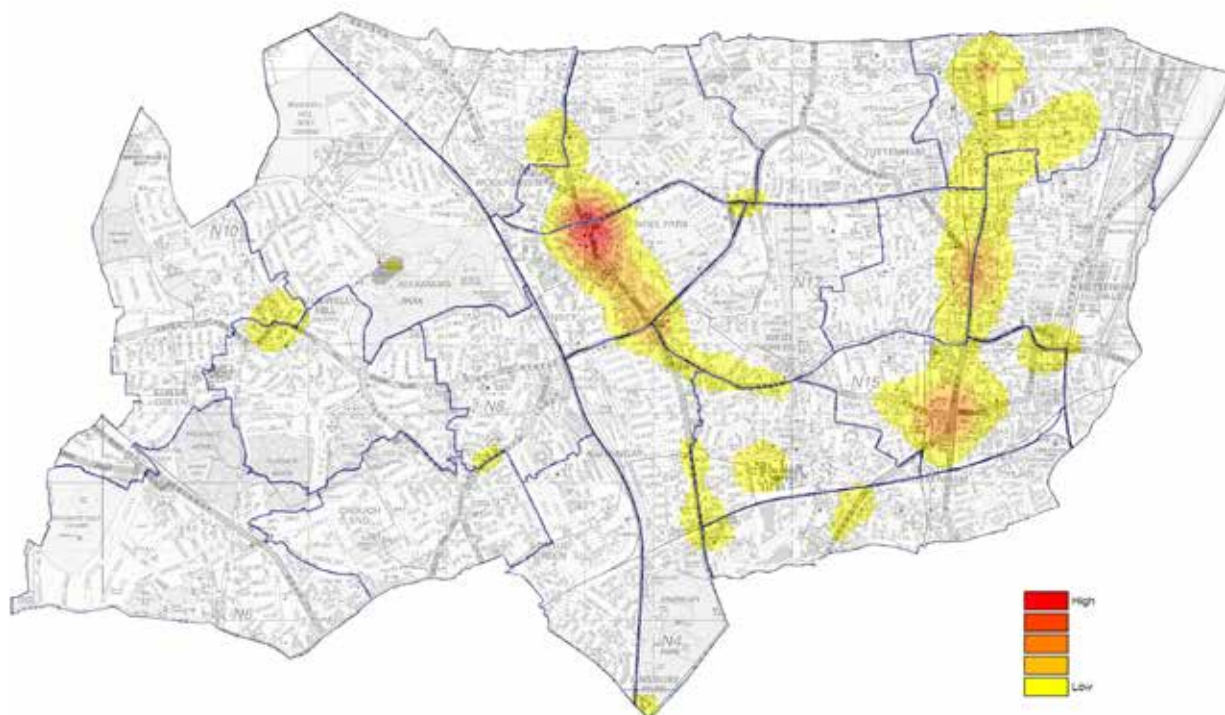
From this we can infer that Young Black men in their late teenage years from the East of the borough are

more likely than their peers to be both victims and perpetrators of SYV, but do not exclusively make up either category.

Analysis of Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) data indicates that:

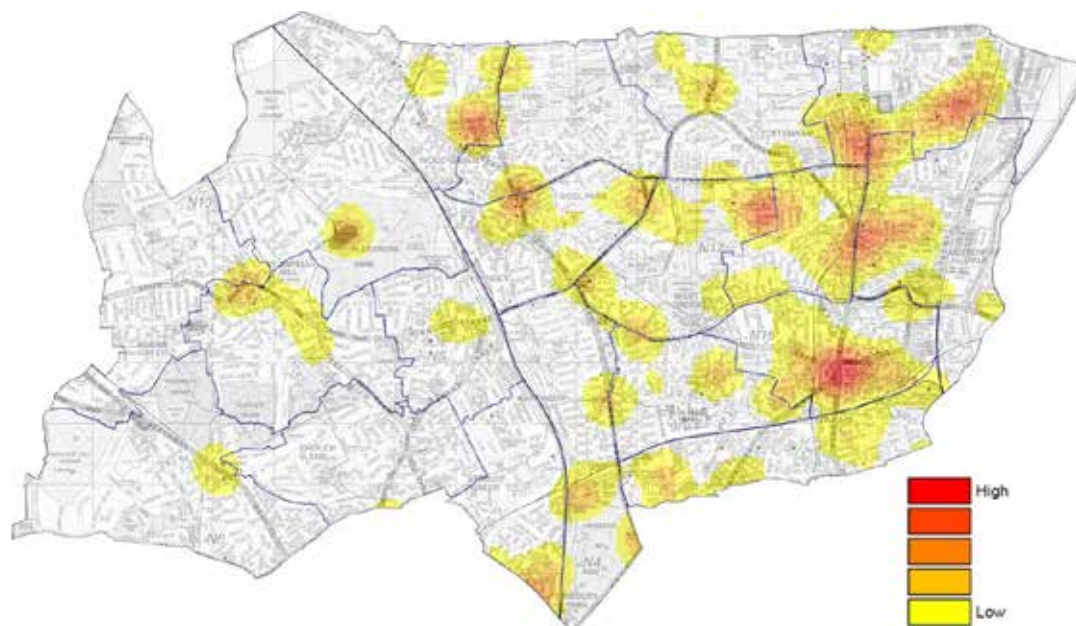
- A higher volume of incidents tend to occur in areas of high footfall, such as high streets, transport hubs, and housing estates.
- Key locations include Wood Green High Road, Bruce Grove, and Tottenham Hale, with high volumes of incidents also occurring across Northumberland Park, Tottenham Green, and White Hart Lane wards. Knife-related offences are most often clustered around retail areas in Wood Green and along Tottenham High Road, with lower volumes occurring in retail areas in Crouch End and Muswell Hill. Gun crime offences most often occur in Wood Green and North Tottenham. However, hotspots have shifted over time following targeted partnership work with the police and communities.
- Violent offences where 10-19 year olds are victims are concentrated between 3pm and 6pm, the time period immediately after school.

Non-Domestic Violence with Injury



¹ Mayor of London (2017) 'Knife Crime Strategy' (Accessed at https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/mopac_knife_crime_strategy_june_2017.pdf)

Knife injury victims under 25 and lethal barrelled firearm discharges hotspots



Research conducted into weapon carrying has pointed to self-defence and protection as the key motivating factor. Young people who carry weapons frequently believe protecting themselves from others carrying weapons outweighs the risk of being caught by police. Research conducted by the Godwin Lawson Foundation in Haringey² and our conversations with secondary school pupils across Haringey found that knife-carrying is driven primarily by concerns for personal safety and fear of being a victim, and to a lesser degree a desire for status or peer pressure. This engagement also highlighted that knives have become normalised for some young people in Haringey, through association with knife carriers and exposure to knife-related incidents on social media.

Weapon possession, and particularly knife possession, is a serious and prevalent issue for many young people in Haringey. Our most reliable estimate of how many young people carry weapons comes from the 2017 Health Related Behaviour Survey, which found that 12% of pupils in Year 8 to 10 carry weapons when going out or have friends who do so³. However, the Godwin Lawson Foundation report highlights that this is likely to be an underestimate. There is also a specific issue around girls carrying weapons on boys' behalf, driven by coercion, exploitation, and a mistaken perception that girls are not stopped and searched by police.

Gang members are becoming progressively younger, with some now becoming involved between the ages of 10 to 13. Most young people in Haringey are aware of

gang activity, especially 'postcode wars'. This awareness can reduce the extent to which they feel safe travelling around the borough, deter them from opportunities outside of their local area, and raise their risk of potential exposure to violence on social media. A report commissioned by Waltham Forest Council on gang activity, 'From Postcodes to Profits', found that gangs are primarily driven by opportunities to make money from the drug trade. Similarly, the Mayor of London's Knife Crime Strategy notes that gang violence is often linked to drug markets.

Exploitation

SYV in Haringey is largely driven by criminal exploitation of young people within a system of criminal activity that is controlled by adults for financial gain. This exploitation takes a number of forms, including county lines, child criminal exploitation (CCE), and child sexual exploitation (CSE). The most common form of exploitation in cases known to the multi-agency Haringey Exploitation Panel, which delivers an operational response to risk posed to children and young people by various forms of exploitation, is CSE, followed by CCE, and gang affiliation.

Local police data tells us that young people from BAME communities are over-represented among victims of CSE as the largest group of CSE victims (42%), followed by White European (32%). The peak age for CSE is 15-16 years old.

² Godwin Lawson Foundation (2018) 'Youth at Risk' (Accessed at www.godwinlawsonfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/glf-summary-of-findings-5b-1-JA95-IK100518-11-May-1.pdf)

³ Haringey Council (2017) 'Health Related Behaviour Survey 2017' (Accessed at www.haringey.gov.uk/sites/haringeygovuk/files/haringey_sheu_results.pdf)

County lines means groups or gangs using young people or vulnerable adults to carry and sell drugs across borough or county boundaries⁴. County lines operations impose high levels of violence and physical, mental and sexual harm. Several dozen children and young people who have been exploited in county lines operations are known to the Haringey Exploitation Panel and young people from Haringey are known to have been trafficked as far away as Aberdeen.

Criminal operations that profit from the exploitation of young people in Haringey are dynamic and adapt to enforcement activity, giving the impression that they are becoming more sophisticated. We have heard from young people, teachers, and members of the community that patterns of exploitation have changed in recent years as younger children and children from less deprived areas have been targeted by organised criminals for recruitment into their illegal activities. The majority of young people we consulted in the development of this strategy, from all parts of the borough, were aware of grooming and knew of peers who had been criminally exploited in some way.

Risk Factors

Risk factors are aspects of a person, group, or environment that make serious youth violence more likely to occur. The more risk factors that accumulate in an individual or in a particular setting, the higher the likelihood that the individual will become involved in youth violence as a victim or a perpetrator, or that violence occurs in a certain setting. Accumulation of a higher number of risk factors and an absence of protective factors (which make violence less likely to occur) increases individuals' levels of vulnerability. The vulnerability of young people is the key factor that increases the likelihood that they may become involved in behaviours and activities that put them at risk. However, there is no simple causal relationship between any risk factor and SYV.

Risk factors are not evenly distributed across society. The lower an individual's socio-economic status, the more likely it is for them to experience risk factors and for those risks to have a greater impact⁵. They are also less likely to experience protective factors and for the protective factors they do experience to have less of an impact.

Local data and intelligence, brought together in our Needs Assessment, suggests that the most critical risk factors for young people in Haringey becoming involved in SYV are:

- Adverse childhood experiences (ACEs), including abuse, neglect, and household dysfunction
- Being a victim of any kind of violence
- Exploitation by adults, whether through County Lines, involvement in the drug trade, gang affiliation, or sexual exploitation
- Mental health conditions, and specifically PTSD and emotional disorders
- Underachievement at school
- School exclusion
- Lack of confidence in authorities
- Poverty

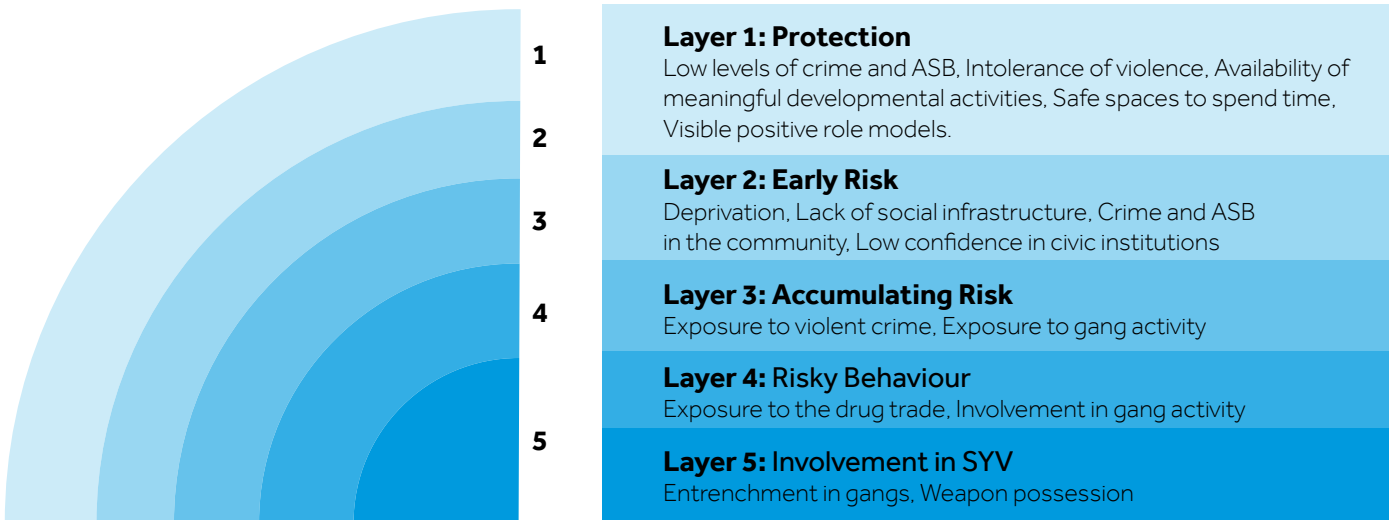
Young people who become involved in SYV are more likely to be, males from relatively deprived backgrounds, Black communities, in Wood Green and Tottenham. This is not to ignore pockets of deprivation, vulnerability, and risk elsewhere. For example, we know that Kurdish boys, girls, and young people in parts of Hornsey are at risk of similar vulnerabilities. However, it is crucial that we are clear on where risk and vulnerability are most concentrated.

A comprehensive overview of the risk factors for involvement in serious youth violence, and the groups of Haringey young people most vulnerable to experiencing those risk factors is set out below.

⁴ Safer London: 'County Lines: What do I need to know?' (Accessed at <https://saferlondon.org.uk/2016/09/county-lines-i-need-know/>)

⁵ NHS Scotland: 'Children overview' (Accessed at <http://www.healthscotland.scot/population-groups/children/children-overview>)

Risk Factors: Community



Exposure to violence and gang activity in the community

The public health approach to serious violence, associates exposure to violence in the community with increased likelihood of committing violent offences later in life. Mechanisms for this association include normalisation of violent behaviour, desensitisation to the consequences of violence, and development of maladaptive coping mechanisms for threatening situations.

Research indicates that exposure to community violence can lead to emotional, social and cognitive problems⁶. Young people might have difficulty regulating emotions, paying attention or concentrating at school⁷. Living in an unsafe community can have a corrosive effect on child development.

The Childhood Trust⁸ have found that 54% of young people have witnessed violence during the summer holidays and 65% are frightened of being attacked and/or exploited by gangs during the holidays. This demonstrates the extent to which violence can be a pervasive experience in many young people's communities. Exposure to drug use and dealing is also a daily or regular experience for 19% of young Londoners in the areas where they live⁹. Although this is not inherently violent, the drug trade is associated with serious violence.

We know from conversations with secondary school pupils in Haringey that witnessing violence in their local area has significant negative effects. In the words of one pupil "there's not much safety. If I'm around my area I've got to be cautious. I've seen it. I've heard of things that have happened. It worries me. I don't want to be in that situation." We have heard that witnessing violence causes young people to adjust their behaviour in public to keep safe, for example by avoiding large groups, refusing to go up to the top deck of buses, and only going out with company.

Our analysis of violent offending and gang activity in Haringey suggests that young people living in certain neighbourhoods are more likely than their peers to be exposed to violence in the community. In particular, young people living in North Tottenham, Wood Green, and large social housing estates such as Broadwater Farm and the Lightfoot Estate are more exposed to community violence. Demographically, these young people are more likely to be from deprived backgrounds and BAME communities.

6 Margolin and Gordis (2000) 'The Effects of Family and Community Violence on Children', Annual Review of Psychiatry, (51), pp.445-479 (Accessed at <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.51.1.445>)

7 Mazza, J. J., & Overstreet, S. (2000). Children and adolescents exposed to community violence: A mental health perspective for school psychologists. School Psychology Review, 29(1), 86-101.

8 Childhood Trust (2018) 'A Summer Holiday from Hell'

9 MOPAC (2015) Youth Matter! Listening to the voice of young London

Lack of confidence in authorities

A lack of confidence in authorities - public institutions such as the Council, the police, the health service, and schools, among young people and the wider community can jeopardise young people's safety. Reluctance to report incidents to police or to act as a witness can perpetuate cycles of violence in the community. Low trust levels in the community can lead to reluctance to access Council services that could help increase family resilience, such as drug treatment or employment support. Moreover, children may be less likely to achieve in their education if they or their families do not trust and engage with schools and teachers, putting them at risk of low attainment. At a broad level, studies¹⁰ have shown that when the public's trust in government and its elected officials goes down, violence goes up.

Research¹¹ into weapon-carrying suggests that young people who had little or no trust in the police were more than twice as likely to carry a weapon and that young people who live in high-crime neighbourhoods or who are already involved in crime may not see the police as being able or willing to protect them from harm.

This research is validated locally by the Godwin Lawson Foundation report and the Council's conversations with secondary school pupils, in which some young people said that they would view reporting an incident to the police as representing a risk to their own safety and their standing among their peers. Some young people we spoke to in schools and youth clubs 'shared views that young people don't talk' to the police to report suspicions or eye-witness accounts because of the risk of reprisals, a lack of confidence that police would keep them safe, and a disinclination to get personally involved in an incident that is not their "business". One young woman noted that if she saw a stabbing she would "walk away".

Young people have told us that interactions with police can be both positive and negative, with corresponding impacts on levels of trust. For instance, interactions with Safer Schools Officers were felt, by many young people, to be very positive and highly valued. On the other hand, experience of stop and search can be frightening,

confusing, and feel like harassment or discrimination. Some young people felt that Police lacked a sufficient understanding of young people's culture and this is partly driven by differences in ethnicities between the Police and the communities they're policing. This can cause differences of opinion about legitimacy of certain kinds of music or fashion.

Data for September 2018 from MOPAC's Public Voice Dashboard¹² indicates a low level of trust in the police among the wider community. In this data, 49% of Haringey residents believe that the police do a good job in the local area, compared to the London-wide average of 64%.

However, targeted partnership operations undertaken with the community have achieved positive results, such as with Operation Marlin in Northumberland Park¹³, and Haringey ranks high among London boroughs on measures relating to community engagement.

Haringey Council's 2018 Residents Survey found that 15% of residents say they feel unsafe when outside in their local area after dark. Residents of North Tottenham (49%) and West Green & Bruce Grove (24%) are most likely to say they feel unsafe after dark. This indicates a particular vulnerability in these neighbourhoods.

Poverty

The Interim Report of the Commission on Youth Violence¹⁴ recognises poverty as a root cause of youth violence. It is important to note that there isn't necessarily a direct causal relationship between crime and poverty. Rather, intervening conditions, experiences and events may cement this relationship in some circumstances while not in others. We can nevertheless state that poverty generates conditions that make crime more likely than would otherwise be the case.

The Edinburgh Study of Youth Transitions and Crime¹⁵ found that "poverty [has] a significant and direct effect on young people's likelihood to engage in violence at 15, even after controlling for a range of other factors", positive and negative, including poor family functioning, drug use, impulsiveness, and strong relationships with

10 Densley and Storrod (2018) 'Youth violence: rise could be linked to British people's growing distrust of authority' (Accessed at <https://theconversation.com/youth-violence-rise-could-be-linked-to-british-peoples-growing-distrust-of-authority-107483>)

11 Brennan (2018) 'Knife crime: important new findings could help us understand why people carry weapons' (Accessed at <https://theconversation.com/knife-crime-important-new-findings-could-help-us-understand-why-people-carry-weapons-101755>)

12 MOPAC (2018) 'Public Voice Dashboard' (Accessed at <https://www.london.gov.uk/what-we-do/mayors-office-policing-and-crime-mopac/data-and-statistics/public-voice-dashboard>)

13 <https://www.haringey.gov.uk/news/residents-benefit-crime-reduction-northumberland-park>

14 The Youth Violence Commission (2018) 'Interim Report' (Accessed at <http://yvcommission.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Interim-Report-FINAL-version-2.pdf>)

15 Edinburgh Study of Youth Transitions and Crime (Accessed at <http://www.esytc.ed.ac.uk/>)

parents. Further research¹⁶ indicates that young people who live in areas with high levels of deprivation and crime, or who have few educational or employment opportunities may be less likely to see potential for their future and may be more vulnerable to claims that crime is an option for achieving status and resources.

This research appears to be applicable at a local level. An analysis undertaken by the GLA Intelligence Unit shows a strong significant statistical association between local rates of SYV and the proportion of young people living in poverty. The same analysis shows a similar association between local rates of SYV and the index of multiple deprivation.

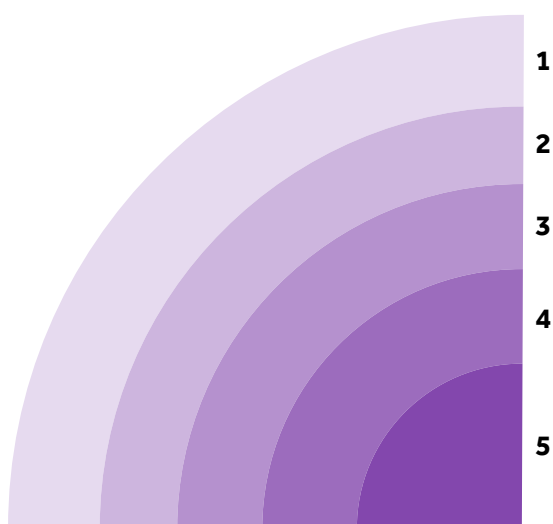
The participants at Haringey Safer Neighbourhoods Board's Youth Safety Summit in March 2018 identified poverty as a root cause of involvement in gangs and serious violence. One young person mentioned that she thought that poverty was a big issue because some young people were robbing or drug dealing to make money for themselves and their families. It was noted that some young people see crime as a way out of the inadequate material conditions and seemingly dangerous areas they live in. This view was corroborated by secondary school pupils in Haringey, who stated

repeatedly in several separate focus groups that a significant driver of violent crime is the potential to make money, whether through robberies or the drug trade, and that this driver is stronger for young people who have grown up in poverty.

Haringey is ranked 30th out of the 326 local authorities in England for deprivation, and is the 6th most deprived in London. Approximately 10,800 Haringey children live in low income families. The most deprived neighbourhood areas are more heavily concentrated in the East of the borough, where more than half fall into the 20% most deprived in the country. Income deprivation affecting young people is higher in the East of the borough than in the west, with Northumberland Park, White Hart Lane, and Tottenham Hale having the highest levels. Despite East Haringey having the highest levels of income deprivation affecting young people, there are pockets of high deprivation in Hornsey and Seven Sisters, as well as in the central wards of Noel Park, Bounds Green, West Green and Woodside.

We can state with some degree of confidence that young people who grow up in poverty, most likely to be those in the East of the borough, are particularly vulnerable to involvement in SYV.

Risk Factors: Families and Relationships



Layer 1: Protection

Connectedness to family or trusted adults, Ability to discuss problems with parents, High parental expectations for school performance, Shared activities with family, Consistent presence of parent(s), Frequent social activity, Family use of constructive strategies for coping with problems, Strong relationships with peers

Layer 2: Early Risk

Unstable home environments, Victim of bullying, Family risk factors

Layer 3: Accumulating Risk

Adverse Childhood Experiences

Layer 4: Risky Behaviour

Exposure to the drug trade, Relationship breakdown, Missing and/or homelessness, Gang affiliation

Layer 5: Involvement in SYV

Isolation from family, Homelessness, Exploitative relationships

Adverse childhood experiences

Negative, stressful, traumatizing events that occur before age 18 are referred to as adverse childhood

experiences (ACEs). ACEs are divided into 10 categories that fall into the categories of abuse (physical, emotional, and sexual), neglect (physical and emotional), and household dysfunction (parental mental illness, domestic violence, parental separation, parental incarceration, and

¹⁶ Dijkstra et al. (2012) 'Testing three explanations of the emergence of weapon carrying in peer context: The roles of aggression, victimization, and the social network', *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 50 (4), 371-376

parental substance use)¹⁷. These experiences create toxic stress. Children with ongoing, unmitigated toxic stress develop patterns of adaptive and physiological disruptions that compromise health over the lifespan.

Studies suggest that almost half of all adults have suffered at least one ACE, with 9% of adults having suffered four or more ACEs¹⁸. Those experiencing more ACEs are more likely to be involved in violence and other anti-social behaviour and perform more poorly in schools. Compared to people with no ACEs, those with four or more are 14 times more likely to have been a victim of violence, 15 times more likely to have committed violence against another person, and 20 times more likely to have been incarcerated¹⁹.

Each individual category of ACEs will be considered separately in this chapter. The strategy takes a partnership approach to tackling youth violence, of which collective action to reducing ACEs is a core component.

Parental neglect

The Interim Report of the Commission on Youth Violence²⁰ recognises deficient parental support as a root cause of youth violence, noting that children who are neglected are more likely to develop behavioural problems and experience emotional disorders. The association is borne out by Haringey Council's audit of the most prolific young offenders, 45% of whom had experienced deficient parental support within their first year. Research into the impact of ACEs indicates that neglect can lead to maladaptive coping mechanisms for stress and can negatively affect individuals' abilities to form healthy relationships.

The last five years has seen an increasing trend in recorded offences of cruelty and neglect of children under 16 by a parent or carer in England, Wales and Northern Ireland. By the time they reach 18, 10% of young people will have experienced parental neglect²¹. Locally, rates of Children in Need, Looked after Children, and children becoming subject to Child Protection Plans are slightly above the England and London averages.

The large majority of current Children in Need and Child

Protection Plans citing neglect as the primary need are found in the East of the borough. The concentration of neglect is highest in Northumberland Park, Tottenham Green and Tottenham Hale wards.

Domestic violence

Exposure to domestic violence can make a young person more vulnerable to SYV by establishing norms relating to the use of violence in personal relationships, by predisposing young people to violent behaviours, and by reducing the extent to which the home is a safe place that can offer protection from external risks such as exploitation by other adults. The effects of exposure to domestic violence are clear in the cohort of young people in need of Council services. Among the youth justice cohort as a whole, 14% have been exposed to domestic violence, but our audit of the 20 most prolific young offenders found that by the age of seven 30% had witnessed domestic violence.

We know that domestic violence is vastly under-reported. Estimates based on those interviewed in the Crime Survey for England and Wales during the year ending March 2015 showed that around 4 in 5 victims (79%) of partner abuse did not report the abuse to the police²². Taking this into account, MPS data indicates that the incidence and rate of domestic abuse with injury is higher in Haringey than the London average. In 2017/18 Haringey had the second highest rate of all London boroughs (46.9 per 10,000 residents), and the fourth largest number of incidents (1,018). Hotspot locations are around residential locations, such as Turnpike Lane, Wood Green and Bruce Grove. Over two-thirds of all reported domestic violence occurs in the East of the borough. Haringey's Violence Against Women and Girls Strategy (2016)²³ sets out a comprehensive overview of domestic violence in the borough and the action that the Council and partners will take to prevent it.

17 Scottish Government (2018) 'Adverse Childhood Experiences' (Accessed at www.gov.scot/publications/adverse-childhood-experiences/)

18 Public Health Institute, Liverpool John Moores University (2018) 'Adverse Childhood Experiences' (Accessed at www.cph.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/ACE-infographics-BMC-Medicine-FINAL-3.pdf)

19 Scottish Government (2018) 'Adverse Childhood Experiences' (Accessed at www.gov.scot/publications/adverse-childhood-experiences/)

20 The Youth Violence Commission (2018) 'Interim Report' (Accessed at <http://yvcommission.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Interim-Report-FINAL-version-2.pdf>)

21 NSPCC (2017) 'How safe are our children?'

22 Mayor of London (2017) 'Knife Crime Strategy' (Accessed at www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/mopac_knife_crime_strategy_june_2017.pdf)

23 Haringey Council (2016) 'VAWG Strategy' (Accessed at www.haringey.gov.uk/sites/haringeygovuk/files/vawg_strategy.pdf)

Parental mental health problems

Living in a household where parents or carers have mental health problems doesn't mean a child will experience abuse or negative consequences. Most parents are able to give their children safe and loving care. However, there is a risk that parental mental health problems can have a negative impact on children. In particular, some children and young people whose parents have mental health problems may be at heightened risk of developing mental health difficulties themselves, may become victims of bullying, may be at heightened risk of developing behavioural problems such as physical aggression, or may develop maladaptive coping mechanisms.

17.6% of Haringey's adult population are estimated to experience a common mental health disorder, which is higher than London (16.4%) and England (15.6%). 4,000 people have been diagnosed with severe mental illness in Haringey (1.3%), significantly higher than the London average of 1.1%. Benefit claimants citing mental health problems tend to live in Central and Eastern wards in Haringey. This data indicates that children in these wards may be more vulnerable to the negative effects of living with a parent with a mental health condition.

Parental substance use

The Youth Violence Commission's Interim Report²⁴ recognises parental substance use as a risk factor for children's involvement in SYV. This is considered valid in Haringey as our youth justice service's audit found that 30% of prolific young offenders' parents had been involved in substance misuse.

Levels of illicit substance use have been consistently higher in London than the England average since at least 1996. Levels follow a social gradient, with substance use more prevalent in deprived areas than affluent areas²⁵. Haringey ranks in the mid-range for adult substance use among London boroughs, but this ranking may mask higher rates in areas with more deprivation²⁶.

Alternative datasets can help provide a more local picture of adult substance use. Haringey residents who seek treatment are most likely to come from areas around Seven Sisters, Bruce Grove and Northumberland

Park. Haringey's drug treatment population aligns closely with the borough population in terms of ethnicity, but men make up three-quarters of adults in treatment. The primary drug offence hotspots in Haringey are located along Wood Green High Road, around Seven Sisters train station, and within Northumberland Park ward. Among suspects for these offences over half were Black, 77% were 20 or older, and 96% were male.

From the data, the Youth Violence Commission's research, and our Youth Justice Service, we can conclude that parental substance use is a significant risk factor for children's involvement in youth violence and is likely to disproportionately affect children living in Wood Green and Tottenham from Black African and Black-Caribbean families.

Unstable home environment

We have heard from partner organisations, professionals, and young people themselves that the home environment is fundamental when considering a young person's vulnerability. We know that if that environment is characterised by financial or housing instability, young people are more likely to become vulnerable to involvement in violence. Such instability may cause them to spend more time outside of the home in locations where they are more at risk, or to seek sources of illicit income.

Housing data can indicate which families are more likely to be living in unstable home environments. Across London those of Asian (14%), Black (11%) or Other (12%) ethnicity are more than five times more likely than those of White British ethnicity (2%) to be living in households with more than one person per room. Moreover, in Haringey, 40% of households accepted as statutory homeless are Black, more than double the representation of this ethnic group in the borough.

While most single parents successfully raise their children in safe, healthy environments, many young people who become involved in SYV come from these households. Our audit of the most prolific young offenders found that 90% had experienced the loss of a parent through bereavement or separation by the age of 5.

Approximately 10,300 households in Haringey are lone parent households with dependent children, representing 11% of all households, with a 40/60 split between the

²⁴ The Youth Violence Commission (2018) 'Interim Report' (Accessed at <http://yvcommission.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Interim-Report-FINAL-version-2.pdf>)

²⁵ Public Health England (2017) 'An evidence review of the outcomes that can be expected of drug misuse treatment in England' (Accessed at https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/586111/PHE_Evidence_review_of_drug_treatment_outcomes.pdf)

²⁶ NHS Digital (2018) 'Statistics on drugs misuse' (Accessed at <https://files.digital.nhs.uk/publication/c/k/drug-misu-eng-2018-rep.pdf>)

parliamentary constituencies of Hornsey and Wood Green in the West and Tottenham in the East. 24% of all households with dependent children in Hornsey & Wood Green constituency are lone parent households, compared to 36% in Tottenham. More than 40% of households with dependent children in White Hart Lane, Northumberland Park, and Tottenham Hale wards are single parent families, indicating that young people in these neighbourhoods may be more vulnerable.

Bullying

A key aspect of the public health approach to violence is understanding it as a communicable disease that relies on exposure and transmission to spread. Accordingly, being a victim or perpetrator of physical, verbal, or indirect bullying can be a precursor to violent behaviour. Moreover, bullying can induce risk factors such as low academic performance and mental and physical health problems.

NSPCC analysis of the prevalence of bullying has found that almost 60% of young people aged 11 to 17 will have been victimised by a peer at some point in their life. Bullying is the top concern reported by children aged 11 and under and the most common reason for children aged 11 and under to contact Childline²⁷.

The Haringey Health Related Behaviour Survey (2017) found that bullying is a serious problem for a minority of pupils in Haringey. A quarter of primary pupils and 13% of secondary school pupils reported having been bullied in the last year. 48% of pupils in primary school think their school deals with bullying well, while 20% said that they didn't. The equivalent figures are 36% and 17% for secondary pupils. We are not able to interrogate this data by gender or ethnicity, but national research indicates particular vulnerabilities for boys in terms of physical bullying, for girls in other forms, and for pupils from more deprived backgrounds or with some form of unstable home environment²⁸.

Friends that engage in risky behaviour

We know that peer groups exert a strong influence over the behaviours and attitudes of young people. Focus groups and individual conversations with young people in secondary schools and youth services have highlighted the importance to young people of fitting in with their peer group, which can mean engaging in similar behaviour and adopting similar attitudes to their peers. Unfortunately, this can drive young people to adopt risky behaviours such as substance use, weapon possession, and violent crime.

The Godwin Lawson Foundation report found that peer pressure is a significant factor that can encourage some young people to carry weapons. In the words of one young person, "People want to be safe, fit in – the knife becomes like a uniform." This view has been corroborated by subsequent engagement with young people in secondary schools, some of whom stated that weapon-carrying and substance use is in part driven by a desire to emulate peers who demonstrate such behaviour on social media. Moreover, research into weapon-carrying suggests that people who had peers who had been in trouble with the police were more than twice as likely to carry a weapon, demonstrating the potential negative influence of offending peers.

Homelessness

The Home Office's 2018 Serious Violence Strategy states that 'young offenders often come from disadvantaged backgrounds and have very complex needs such as homelessness, poor educational attainment, lack of employable skills, mental health issues' and notes that experiences of homelessness are a marker for being at higher risk of becoming a victim or perpetrator of serious youth violence.

In 2017/18 people aged 16-24 were recorded as having received housing and/or homelessness support in Haringey. 49 of these were accepted as statutory homeless. The most common reason for these young people leaving their last settled base was that their parents were no longer willing or able to accommodate them (30/49). It is notable that 25% of young homeless people in Haringey are LGBT, an over-representation compared to the wider borough population.

²⁷ NSPCC (2016) 'What children are telling us about bullying'

²⁸ Silva et al. (2013) 'The Involvement of Girls and Boys with Bullying: An Analysis of Gender Differences' International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health, 10(12), pp.6820-6831

Gang affiliation

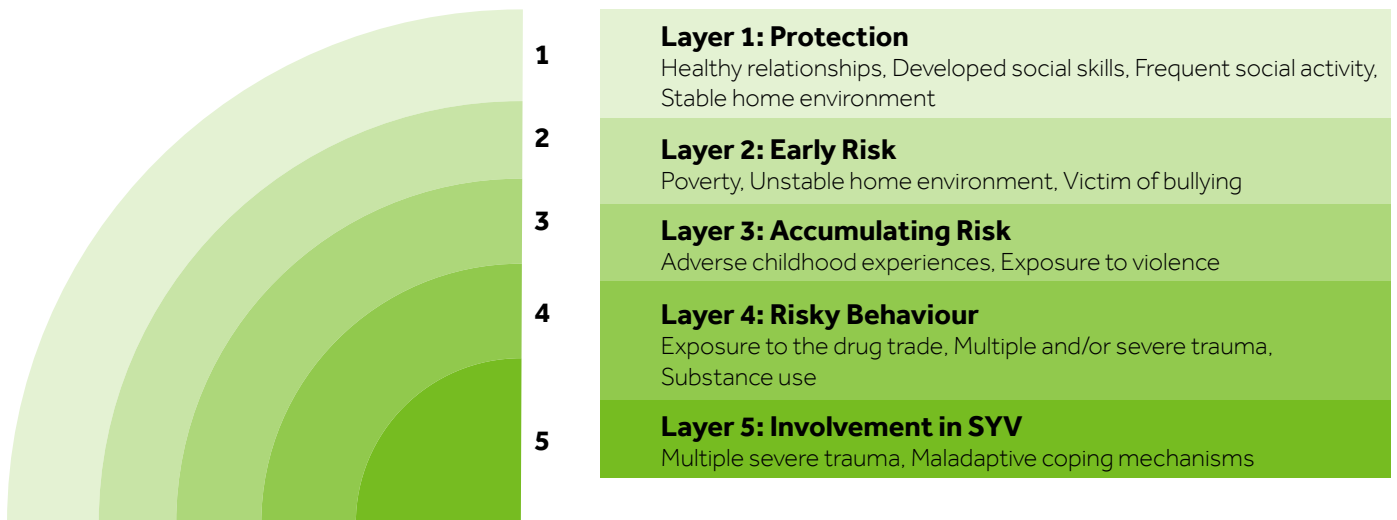
There is a strong link between gang activity and SYV. The challenge, therefore, is to understand the drivers of gang affiliation.

There is a clear link between a desire for status and gang affiliation. Focus groups with secondary school pupils highlighted that gang affiliation is glamorised, with young people vulnerable to claims of an exciting and lucrative lifestyle and enhanced reputation among their peers. There is also a clear link between a desire for safety and gang affiliation. Focus group participants told us that some of their peers believe that gang

membership will protect them from exploitation and violence.

In addition to the 'pull factors' above, there are several notable 'push factors'. An important minority (11%) feel under pressure to join a gang. This pressure is more marked for the youngest surveyed (school Year 7, 15%), for those who have been victims of crime (21%) and attendees/former attendees of Pupil Referral Units (31%)²⁹. This indicates particular vulnerabilities for pupils transitioning from primary to secondary school and for pupils who have been excluded from mainstream education. Additionally, it supports the public health approach to violence by indicating that those who have been victims of crime are vulnerable to future involvement in criminal activity.

Risk Factors: Mental Health



²⁹ MOPAC (2015) Youth Matter! Listening to the voice of young London

Mental health issues

Mental health issues can be both a risk factor and consequence of involvement in SYV. Mental health issues can make young people more vulnerable to recruitment into activities that place them at risk of involvement in SYV; more vulnerable to experiences and behaviours associated with future involvement, such as school exclusions and substance use; or more likely to resort to violence, especially in instances where there is an emotional disorder such as unmanaged anger. Moreover, exposure to violence can adversely affect mental health and induce conditions including depression, anxiety, and post-traumatic stress disorder.

A strong theme in the Godwin Lawson Foundation report is the extent to which young people who have been involved in violence struggle with anger issues. Where anger was a frequent occurrence almost all the young people identified external factors which they could not manage, or be expected to manage, as the cause. The anger, therefore, was perceived by them as an appropriate reaction to things over which they had no control. The report found that some young people immediately responded to anger and for these young people it was not unusual for the anger to become physical. In some of the research groups there was general acceptance that anger is likely to lead to a physical response which can be directed at objects or people. The association between anger and violence is supported by an analysis undertaken by the GLA Intelligence Unit, which shows a significant statistical association between local rates of SYV and the rate of emotional disorders, including unmanaged anger, among 5-16 year olds.

Taking a broader view of mental health, Public Health England data suggests that one in 10 young people aged 5-16 are estimated to have a mental health disorder in Haringey. This represents 3,817 children and young people in Haringey and a higher estimated prevalence of mental health disorders than London and England³⁰. A survey conducted in Haringey schools in 2017 found that 39% of boys and 29% of girls in Year 6 had high self-esteem scores. Among Year 8 and 10 students, 31% of pupils had high self-esteem scores. The same survey found that 44% of pupils have someone they can talk to about almost everything while 9% have no one they can talk to.

Substance use

Substance use is identified as a risk factor for involvement in SYV in the Home Office's Serious Violence Reduction Strategy³¹. Academic research has linked substance use as both a risk factor for and consequence of experience of violence. As a risk factor, young people who use illicit substances may be more likely to become perpetrators due to the effects of the substances themselves, the need for money to fund substance use, and disruption associated with substance use such as school exclusion. As a consequence, we have heard from medical professionals that some young people who have experienced violence are likely to self-medicate as a means of coping with trauma. This form of use may, in turn, make future experience of violence more likely.

The vast majority of children in Haringey do not smoke, drink alcohol, or use drugs. However, Haringey has the 4th highest rate of admission episodes in London for alcohol-specific conditions among under 18 year olds (27.5 per 100,000 population under 18, compared to 19.4 in London). In addition, 14% of 15 year olds in Haringey report having been drunk at least once in the last four weeks.

According to Public Health England, 7% of 15 year olds in Haringey have taken cannabis in the last month³², above the London average of 5%. Use of other drugs (excluding cannabis) is relatively high in Haringey, with 2.4% of 15 year olds saying they have taken other such drugs in the last month. This is the second highest rate in London. In addition, the 2017 Health Related Behaviour Survey found that 19% of Haringey secondary pupils know someone who takes drugs, 14% have been offered cannabis, and 3% have been offered cocaine.

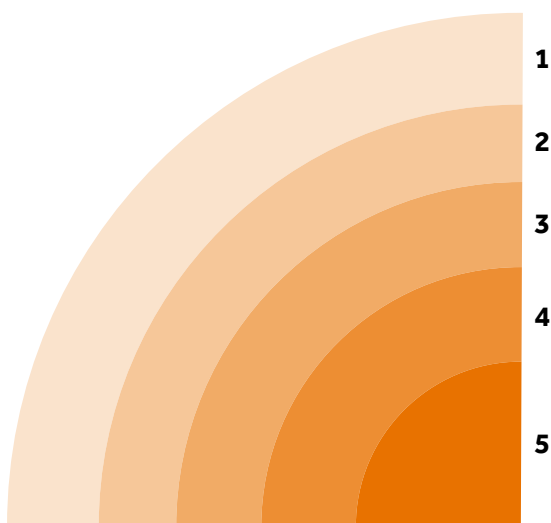
Approximately a quarter of all drug offence suspects in Haringey are aged 10-19, the overwhelming majority of these are male, and approximately half are identified as Black. Offences and police drug stops are concentrated in North Tottenham and central Haringey, including Noel Park and Harringay wards. Approximately a third of the youth justice cohort in Haringey are known drug users, indicating a strong association in Haringey between substance use and SYV.

30 Public Health England (2015) 'Estimated prevalence of mental health disorders in children and young people 2015. Children and Young People Mental Health Profile'

31 Home Office (2018) 'Serious Violence Strategy' (Accessed at <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/serious-violence-strategy>)

32 Public Health England (2015) 'Drug usage among 15 year olds, What About Youth? Survey 2014/15'

Risk factor: Education



Layer 1: Protection

Commitment to school, High parental expectations for school performance, High quality schooling, Visible role models, Economic opportunity in the local area

Layer 2: Early Risk

Underdeveloped communication and language skills, Low school readiness, Negative experiences at school

Layer 3: Accumulating Risk

Low attainment, Fixed-term exclusion, Poor economic prospects

Layer 4: Risky Behaviour

Exposure to the drug trade, Multiple fixed-term exclusions, Permanent exclusion, Low attainment, Few/no qualifications

Layer 5: Involvement in SYV

Not in education, employment, or training, Very poor economic prospects

Underachievement at school

Most young people in Haringey achieve at school and go on to use the qualifications they obtain at school to achieve later in life. Local education is among the best in the UK. 95% of schools in Haringey are rated good or outstanding by Ofsted. Over half of Haringey's school leavers progressed into higher education in 2017, above the national average³³.

However, for a relatively small cohort, underachievement at school can make them more vulnerable to future involvement in serious violence. We have heard from local young people that a lack of qualifications can cause individuals to perceive that crime is their only route to prosperity. This is supported by academic research that suggests that young people who have few educational or employment opportunities may be less likely to see potential for their future and may be more vulnerable to claims that crime is an option for achieving status and resources³⁴.

Analysis of the local youth justice cohort supports indicators that educational underachievement is a risk factor. While 1.6% of 16-17 year-olds in Haringey are not in employment, education, or training (NEET),

25% of young offenders are NEET. This local analysis is supported by research conducted by the Ministry of Justice and Department for Education³⁵, which found that few than 50% of young offenders who have committed knife possession offences attained five or more GCSEs with an A* to G grade, compared with 90% of all pupils.

In terms of groups at particular risk, local data suggests that larger proportions of Mixed Race (10.7%), Black (7.9%) and Asian (5.6%) 16-17 year olds are NEET compared to the London averages (8.4%, 5.7% and 3.9% respectively). These groups may therefore be at higher risk than their White peers or other BAME young people in other London boroughs.

GCSE attainment data also indicates that Young Black men have the lowest attainment of all ethnic and gender groups. In 2015/16, 52.3% achieved A*-C in English and Maths, compared to 63.7% of all Haringey pupils³⁶. A report for the London Borough of Lambeth in 2017 identified factors that can contribute to underachievement for Black pupils, including low expectations among teachers, a lack of diversity in schools' workforces, negative peer pressure, low parental trust in schools, and low parental engagement in education³⁷. Locally, we know that some BAME pupils

33 Department for Education (2018) 'Destinations of KS4 and KS5 pupils: 2017' (Accessed at <https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/statistics-destinations>)

34 Dijkstra et al (2012) 'Testing three explanations of the emergence of weapon carrying in peer context: The roles of aggression, victimization, and the social network', *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 50 (4), 371-376

35 MoJ and DfE (2016) 'Understanding the Educational Background of Young Offenders'

36 DfE (2018) 'Revised GCSE and equivalent results in England: 2016 to 2017' (Accessed at <https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/statistics-gcses-key-stage-4>)

37 Demie and McLean (2017) 'Black Caribbean Underachievement in Schools in England'

perceive that their schools fall short in addressing institutional and individual unconscious bias, which can have adverse effects on their educations. The Godwin Lawson Report highlights a perception that teachers talk down the achievements of Young Black men.

There is also a clear attainment gap between children receiving free school meals on the borough and those who are not. 54% of pupils eligible for free school meals achieve A*-C in English and Maths, compared to 63.7% of Haringey pupils. However, this gap is much smaller than the average of 16.7% across all London boroughs. In addition, future underachievement is more likely among those who have a low level of school readiness in their early years. In Haringey, boys (69%) and pupils with free school meal status (69%) are less likely to reach a good level of development at the end of reception, compared to the Haringey average (74%)³⁸.

From this data it is reasonable to conclude that Black and mixed-race young people, especially boys, as well as those on free school meals are particularly vulnerable to under-achieving at school relative to their peers, and that this underachievement increases their vulnerability to involvement in SYV.

Truancy

Truancy is recognised as a risk factor for involvement in SYV by the Home Office's Serious Violence Reduction Strategy³⁹. Absenteeism from school can lead to lower education attainment, reduce young people's exposure to positive role models, and make young people more vulnerable to exploitation by adults for criminal purposes. It is important to recognise that absenteeism can occur alongside and reinforce other risk factors such as association with peers that use drugs, and can also be caused by other risk factors such as an unstable home environment or bullying. The understanding of truancy as a risk factor is supported by an analysis undertaken by the GLA Intelligence Unit, which shows a significant statistical association between local rates of SYV and the rate of persistent absenteeism from school.

Most young people in Haringey attend school. Indeed, the rate of persistent absenteeism at Haringey primary schools is in line with the London average at 8.2%,

representing approximately 1,601 children. However, the rate for secondary schools is slightly higher than the London average at 12.5%, representing over 1,500 children. Boys and BAME pupils, and Gypsy/Roma and mixed race pupils in particular, are overrepresented among persistent absentees from school in the UK. These groups may therefore be at higher risk.

Exclusion from school

There is a strong association between school exclusions and offending. The Government's Serious Violence Strategy⁴⁰ and the Interim Report of the Commission on Youth Violence⁴¹ recognise school exclusions as a factor that increases vulnerability and propensity to youth violence. The association is highlighted by the Department for Education and Ministry of Justice's assessment that nearly 70% of all young offenders, and over 80% of all young offenders with knife possession offences have been excluded from school for a fixed period⁴².

Young people who participated at Haringey Safer Neighbourhood Board's Youth Safety Summit in March 2018 identified school exclusions as a risk factor for involvement in serious violence. It was noted that exclusions can alienate young people, and set them on the wrong path in life. The views of pupils within a local Pupil Referral Unit substantiated this view, noting that adults are known to target PRUs to recruit excluded pupils into criminal and gang activity.

Haringey's rate of permanent exclusions is in line with London and England, but there is a relatively high rate of fixed-term exclusions. For secondary schools, the permanent exclusion rate per population in Haringey (0.18) is similar to that of London (0.16) and England (0.17). However, the fixed term exclusion rate is significantly higher, at 9.95% in Haringey compared to rates of 6.9% and 8.5% in London and England respectively⁴³. It is likely that official figures underestimate the scale of exclusions. There are a number of ways in which a pupil can be functionally excluded from their school, aside from official exclusions, including off-rolling and managed moves.

In 2016/17, 74% of Haringey Secondary school pupils

38 Public Health England (2018) 'School Readiness: the percentage of children achieving a good level of development at the end of reception 2016/17' (Accessed at <https://fingertips.phe.org.uk/public-health-outcomes-framework#gid/1000041/ati/6>)

39 Home Office (2018) 'Serious Violence Strategy' (Accessed at <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/serious-violence-strategy>)

40 Home Office (2018) 'Serious Violence Strategy' (Accessed at <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/serious-violence-strategy>)

41 The Youth Violence Commission (2018) 'Interim Report' (Accessed at <http://yvcommission.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Interim-Report-FINAL-version-2.pdf>)

42 MoJ and DfE (2016) 'Understanding the Educational Background of Young Offenders'

43 DfE (2018) 'Permanent and fixed-period exclusions in England: 2016 to 2017' (Accessed at <https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/statistics-exclusions>)

with fixed period exclusions were boys. Black-Caribbean pupils are significantly more likely to be excluded than their peers, at 19% compared to 5% for White British pupils in Haringey. Moreover, data on pupils attending alternative provisions indicates that pupils with SEND or a social, emotional or mental health need are more likely to be excluded than their peers. This is particularly pertinent as Haringey has the fifth largest proportion of secondary school SEN pupils in London. Exclusions are also understood to follow a social gradient, with poorer young people more likely to be excluded than their wealthier peers. From this data we can conclude that Young Black men and those with SEND, mental health conditions, or deprived backgrounds are most vulnerable to exclusion from school.

Risk Factors: Violence and Criminality

Victim of violence

A key aspect of the public health approach to violence is understanding it as a communicable disease. This means that exposure to violence makes an individual more likely to commit violent acts themselves. As noted in the previous chapter, there were 347 victims of serious youth violence in Haringey in the 12 months to September 2018, among whom young Black men are overrepresented. However, violence is a broad concept and includes other categories including abuse and bullying, which is analysed further on.

Victimisation includes being subject to child abuse. Children who suffer abuse during childhood tend to be at greater risk of developing aggressive and violent behaviour themselves⁴⁴. The association between abuse and SYV is validated by Haringey Council's audit of the most prolific youth offenders, 25% of whom had been a victim of physical abuse by a parent or step-parent by the age of 8. This contrasts with fewer than one in ten young Londoners feeling unsafe at home⁴⁵. Local data shows there has been an increase in physical abuse as an initial category of abuse from 11% to 19% in 2016/17 for children who became subject to a Child Protection Plan. National data indicates that BAME

children are most at risk of physical abuse⁴⁶ whilst girls are most at risk of emotional and sexual abuse⁴⁷.

Involvement in the drug trade

Involvement in the drug trade is known to significantly heighten a young person's vulnerability to involvement in serious violent crime due to the inherently illegitimate and unpoliced nature of the trade, the high volumes of money associated with it and consequent potential for acquisitive crime, and territorial disputes relating to areas in which a particular group is able to sell drugs⁴⁸. It is important to note that young people's involvement in the drug trade most often occurs as a result of exploitation by adults for financial gain. These young people are often vulnerable, and so are considered at high risk.

Involvement in the drug trade can negatively affect other areas of a young person's life. For instance, it is likely to aggravate relationships with family members, jeopardise educational attainment, and cause a degree of stress or anxiety. Teachers have also told us that drug possession is a leading driver of school exclusions, which is itself a significant risk factor for involvement in SYV.

Local focus groups have highlighted a view a lack of legitimate employment opportunities may be a potential driver for involvement in the drug trade, and that some young people involved in serious violent crime are trapped in the drug trade because they would be unable to find work in the legitimate economy upon exit. These focus groups also highlighted that involvement in the drug trade can also be driven by desire for money and status. Pupils told us that it is easy to obtain drugs lucrative to sell them to peers, and seen as cool to do so. One enabling factor is social media, as it can be a common occurrence to see pictures and videos on social media platforms such as Snapchat and Instagram relating to drug dealing and associated financial gain.

Due to its illicit nature, we don't hold comprehensive data on the individuals or groups involved in the drug trade. However, we can infer from data on drug-related offences that Black males living in North Tottenham and Wood Green are most likely to be involved. It is important

44 Widom and Wilson (2014) 'Intergenerational Transmission of Violence'. *Violence and Mental Health: Its Manifold Faces*. London: Springer Netherlands, pp.27-46

45 MOPAC: Youth Matter! Listening to the voice of young London (2015)

46 Owen, C. and Statham, J. (2009) *Disproportionality in child welfare: prevalence of black and ethnic minority children within 'looked after' and 'children in need' populations and on child protection registers in England*. London: Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF).

47 Maikovitch-Fong, A. and Jaffee, S. (2010) Sex differences in childhood sexual abuse characteristics and victims' emotional and behavioural problems: findings from a national sample of youth. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 34(6): 429-437

48 Home Office (2018) 'Serious Violence Strategy' (Accessed at <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/serious-violence-strategy>)

to note that the drug trade takes place across the borough and young people living in comparatively affluent neighbourhoods are still at risk. Indeed, we have heard that the drug trade is becoming more pervasive in Muswell Hill due to the perceived affluence of the young 'market'.

Key Points

- Risk factors occur at different points and in different aspects of a young person's life. Those that occur in adolescence or young adulthood can be mitigated by addressing those that occur in a child's early years. Similarly, individual-level risks can be mitigated by addressing family- and community-level risks. However, it is important to note that there is no simple causal relationship between any risk factor and SYV.
- From the local data we hold and what we have heard from young people and partners, we view the following as the most critical risk factors for young people in Haringey becoming involved in SYV:
 - Adverse childhood experiences, including abuse, neglect, and household dysfunction
 - Being a victim of any kind of violence
 - Exploitation by adults, whether through
 - County Lines, involvement in the drug trade, gang affiliation, or sexual exploitation
- Mental health conditions, and specifically PTSD and emotional disorders
- Underachievement at school
- School exclusion
- Lack of confidence in authorities
- Poverty
- Young people who become involved in SYV are likely to be, but are not exclusively, males from relatively deprived backgrounds, Black communities, in Wood Green and Tottenham. This is not to ignore pockets of deprivation, vulnerability, and risk elsewhere. For example, we know that Kurdish boys, girls, and young people in parts of Hornsey are also vulnerable. It is crucial that we are clear on where risk and vulnerability are most concentrated in order to be able to target interventions and effect the most change.



